Sulliff Y-5 (ca. 1901) 1954 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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Billy's wife testified in her own defense. She rose from her chair and moved to the center of the floor with the grace of a shy wild animal. She was slender and lovely, with the clear brown skin, small shapely hands and feet that distinguish the elite. The long bang above her piquant face, the neat, bobbed hair, the colorful *sulam* over the clean, gay dress made her a picture that would attract attention anywhere. Her face had been artistically decorated for the occasion: a round spot of red paint glowed dully over each cheekbone; a line of burnt sienna extended from the middle of her lower lip to the center of her chin. But most bewitching were the delicate blue shadows beneath her eyes. These were achieved by daintily applying a paint made from the wild indigo plant. Her bracelets, necklace and ear ornaments of blue beads added to her natural charm. She spoke in her native language, Vesnor interpreting, and told her story with such eloquence that I wished with all my heart that I knew enough of the tribe's language to understand her softly spoken words.

She was explaining to me, and her every word and gesture were for my benefit as she said: "Long time ago Little Jim marry my sister. She good woman. She cook. She work, make clean house. He no work. No buy dress. He no buy things eat. She hungry all time. She get sick. She die. Little Jim marry E-e. He happy all time. He work. He no lazy. He buy dress. He buy everythings. I too mad. I walk. I walk on trail. I see Little Jim corn. It little grow (not very tall). I think. E-e like corn. I get plenty mad. I walk, maybe five, maybe ten stalk, break down on ground. I too mad."

Like an angry princess she swept to her seat, and I knew that I was not the right judge for this case, for I was ready to defend her for her courage, her beauty and her loyalty to her dead sister. Yet I admired the straightforwardness and sincerity of Little Jim.

Prince's wife took the floor. The women were sisters, but Billy had chosen the more picturesque, the more charming of the two. This woman's story was less dramatic, but differed little from that of her sister. Little Jim's first wife was her sister, she said. He neglected her, and she died. "Now he good to E-e. I mad. I want

2:11iff T-5 (ca. 1981) 1984 NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
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would comb the desert for the piñon nuts, oily and pungent, as they fell from the pine trees. The desert, which yielded its store of food to those who knew where to search for it, was ripe for the harvest.

Each day one or more groups climbed the trail, bound for Seligman to loaf about the trader's store, or for the pueblos of the Hopi or the scattered villages of the Walapai. They would denude the plateau of its food plants as they traveled. Laughing, shouting back merry good-bys to us, they climbed the trail. The canyon seemed full of empty houses.

From their talk I gathered a clear picture of their life on the upper level. They would kill an occasional deer or mountain sheep, if no white man were about; even without these there would be meat, for rabbits were plentiful. They satisfied their need for sweets by robbing bees' nests hidden in clefts in walls or in hollow trees. Long ago they had found a cave in a distant cliff that contained more rock salt than they could use. So with vegetables, meat, salt and honey in addition to the supplies they took with them, their needs would be satisfied.

When harsh winter set in, they would retire to their small, tight winter houses in the cedar thickets and live off their stored foods. One of the most delicious of these was the corn that had been roasted in the husk, while fresh and green, dried somewhat and stored. They would cook the ears in boiling water and the grains would have the sweetness of fresh corn.

Those who had not bothered to bring cooking pots, drew on the desert's reserve by burning the spines from a section of barrel cactus, removing the center pulp, and using the cavity for the old-time method of stone boiling. Accustomed to making the most of the things at hand in the desert, on the mountains, or wherever they might be, the women cooked mush and boiled vegetables or meat in this unique container, giving no thought to the hardship involved.

Melting snows and swelling buds would start the wanderers leisurely homeward, pausing on the way to reap a rich harvest

A woman should use no cosmetics as doing so might cause the baby to be a "pinto." There are two such individuals in the tribe, their skins being mottled with light patches lacking in pigment. Costume jewelry which circles any part of the body (rings, bracelets, necklaces) should not be worn, as these may cause a constriction on the same part of the baby's body or entanglement with the umbilical cord. One woman said that neither these things, nor earrings, should be worn because a similar mark might appear on the baby's skin. 843 [143]

A woman should drink only lukewarm liquids. Cold water would break her teeth off "like glass," and hot coffee or other hot beverages would cause her face to wrinkle and age rapidly. [271]

A pregnant woman should get up quickly and "step fast after some peaches to dry or some firewood" lest she have a slow, difficult delivery. On the morning that a child (of either sex) is born, the father runs at top speed toward the rising sun so that the child will not be lazy and will win races. [844]

A woman risks miscarriage if she rides horseback before she feels the baby move; after life is felt, riding will not cause miscarriage. Women who leave the canyon to give birth in a hospital must travel on horseback during the latter weeks of pregnancy, riding either 14 miles to a rough dirt road or eight miles to a graded road where other transportation is available. [492]

Left-handedness is caused by a mother who reaches for her baby with her left hand. One woman thought her son was left-handed because he was delivered by a left-handed physician. [826]

Spier (1928, 277, 330) noted that if a mother heard a hawk's cry, her child would have the hawk's spirit which would cause it to sicken. When Alfred Hanna (born 1934) became ill, a shaman, Kit Jones, diagnosed the cause of illness as a hawk's spirit which he successfully drove out. The boy's health improved, and Kit is credited with saving Alfred's life and insuring his normal development. 843 825 [755] [774]

Present informants say that listening attentively to a mourning dove, a squirrel, "or any sound like that," would have the same effect. One woman said, "You can't help hearing, but you shouldn't really listen and think about it. I knew that, but I just couldn't help listening when there was a noise like that. My boys were both sick from it until they were about two years old. When a child like that cries, he turns blue and faints, but you can throw water on his face and he comes to." The sons of this woman were not seriously ill, and both stopped what sounds suspiciously like temper tantrums without assistance from a shaman.

Twins may be caused by eating fruit which is formed with two sections joined on a single stem, or by eating an ear of corn with two or three divisions at the small end. 845 [824]

Materials used for coiled basketry are more carefully prepared than those for twined baskets. Both warp and weft twigs are denuded of bark. The weft twigs are split into three strips in the same manner as for twined baskets, and the pith is carefully scraped off and both sides of each strip scraped smooth. In addition, each weft strip is sized by drawing it through a hole punched in the lid of a coffee can or something similar. One weaver used a gradation of five or six holes for sizing strips for miniature baskets 2 to 3 in. in diameter up to trays 1 ft. or more across. 285

Whiting (1952, 84) identifies the materials used in basketweaving as follows: For woven elements squawberry is preferred; cat's claw is strong, and cottonwood is considered inferior. For rims, service berry, Apache plume, and mesquite are favored. For decoration, squawberry and devil's claw are used. Spier (1928, 138) cites Acacia greggii (cat's claw) as the best material for twined baskets and notes (p. 133) that cottonwood is used for coiled baskets. Materials observed most frequently in use in 1950 were those noted by Spier. [824]

Women also wove sleeping mats, but they are no longer used. Cradleboards, also made by women, continue in general use.

The Food Complex

Cooking and storage methods, together with degree of utilization of the available food supply, furnish an excellent index to feminine ingenuity and readiness to accept new ideas. Cooking methods and exploitation of the environment for foods, and probably food storage also, are traits extant in every culture. 153 252

Food Sources

The Havasupai food supply under primitive conditions was sometimes meager but included much variety. Cultivated foods included corn, beans, squash, peaches, and sunflowers, and a wide variety of wild food plants were harvested for seeds, leaves, or roots. Foods were prepared singly or combined in numerous ways. Cooking was by stone boiling, parching, baking, and broiling, and oftentimes two of these methods were used in preparing a single dish, for example, parching and boiling. 241 [252]

Whiting lists aboriginal cultivated food plants as coru, squash, tepary beans, lima beans, kidney beans, and Hopi sunflowers. Foods introduced include the peach, fig, apricot, plum, pear, apple, watermelon, walnut, and blackeyed pea. Other foods introduced but rejected or little used include the onion, chili, sweet potato, tomato, peas, almond, cherry, and wheat (1952, 60). 241 824 177

Most popular foods today still are corn, beans, squash, sunflower seeds, peaches, and figs. [241] 824

Wild plants utilized, according to Whiting, were the following: goosefoot, peppergrass, mutongrass, wormwood, tansy mustard, blanket flower, gilia, blazing star, pinyon, amaranthus, shepherd's purse, June grass, Indian millet, marigold, cat's claw, mescal, juniper, desert thorn, prickly pear, mesquite, squawbush, broad leaf yucca, Mormon tea, Lippia wrightii, scilla (unidentified), watercress, Indian pipe weed, and desert plume (1932, 103, 105, 106, 113, 114, 115). He reports that watercress was introduced. [177]

Preparation of Food

Grinding corn was one of the most laborious and time-consuming tasks a woman had to perform under aboriginal conditions, but women grind less now that they can obtain wheat flour and other commercially prepared food. A number of families have purchased handpowered machine grinders, and almost without exception these are preferred to the metate, because meal from the latter always contains grit. 252 [177]

A woman sits at her metate or grinding stone (pi'), her legs turned sideways beneath her, leaning slightly forward so that her weight is balanced over her knees as she reaches toward the far end of the stone. She has two sizes of hand milling stones (va-djk). Grasping the larger stone, she first uses an end of it to break the dry corn kernels (younger women may or may not use this method). The hand stone or mano is held in both hands for grinding, and the woman places a pile of corn on the end of the metate nearest her. The mano is moved away from the woman, and on each third or fourth backward stroke, a few more kernels are caught beneath it with a rocking motion and a slight pause in rhythm. The smaller mano is used on the same metate to reduce dry corn to a finer graininess or to crush green corn to a pulp. It is questioned whether the smaller size of the second stone is significant; it seems more likely that a harder, smoother texture of the stone itself is the pertinent factor. [516]

No attempt is made here to inventory recipes used by the Havasupai, but a few examples are described.

Soup or mush was one of the dishes most commonly prepared. It varied from a clear, watery consistency to a thick paste. Ingredients ranged from dry or green corn to crushed seeds of various wild plants, which might be boiled singly or combined in numerous ways. Soup or mush was eaten unseasoned, or flavored with salt, squash blossoms, or marigold. 252 262

Dumplings were made from dry corn, cooked to a thick paste, or from green corn shaped into balls and dropped into salted, boiling water.

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fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in betweeen. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [25]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow-leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 524

The Havasupi house *(kawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or *hogan*. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 342 [354] [352] [354]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [17]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

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of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 434

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 262 294 [342] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coiling. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 285 415 [437] 462

The best material for making twined baskets is the sesesia, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [324]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 285 415 521 [387]

7: Spier E-5 (1918-1921) 1929
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If we are concerned with the manner in which traits are borrowed we have a simple, rather mechanical procedure at hand in the introduction of a superior variety of devil's claw which is used in basket ornamentation. This was introduced by a Walapai wife who procured it from a sister, who in turn got it from the Paiute. In such an instance we observe the ready adoption of an article of obvious superiority. More complex is the manner in which certain mourning rites and songs have been taken over from the Walapai. The Havasupai are accustomed to participate in the Walapai mourning ceremony, a rite known to them as of Mohave origin. It has, however, not taken root among the Havasupai with the exception of the songs and dance which are indulged in by younger individuals as a pastime. Yet this meets with resistance on the part of their elders because of the sentiment of the songs, references to the dead.

A host of similar observations may be made, which in my opinion tell us more of the manner of culture growth than a bald recital of generalized culture history. I wish to repeat that such historical reconstructions are misleading and unnecessary. In an earlier discussion of the Plains sun dance I attempted an historical reconstruction and an analysis of the conditions of diffusion and assimilation of its elements.[1] I would now candidly admit that the historical reconstruction of the development of this complex is perhaps unnecessary for understanding the nature of the processes of culture growth and perhaps misleading. It would seem that a more fertile view is rather to be had from a consideration of the conditions under which that growth takes place.

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA

[1] The Sun Dance of the Plains Indians: Its Development and Diffusion. Anthr. Pap., Am. Mus. Nat. Hist., 16, pt 7., 1921.

343 75 four being the ideal total number prescribed for each use of the lodge. They would enter backwards, the shaman taking his place nearest the heated
● [824] rocks and water, which was sprinkled on them. Frequently, sweet-smelling herbs or leaves would be hung in a bundle above the rocks, and the floor
343 of the lodge covered with willow or cottonwood branches. The shaman would
533 sing a song and repeat it four times, although, if the shaman were not pres-
75 ent, another man who knew the songs could act in his place. Spier (1928, 337) indicated that sweatlodge songs were sung not by a shaman but by an old man. Our data indicate that either could participate.

At the conclusion of each song, the shaman usually would place his mouth on the afflicted portion of the patient 's body and forcibly blow his overheated breath on the area. Hand pressure also was applied in the belief that forced movement of the blood would work the heat into the painful spot.

Songs used in the sweatlodge were not to be sung outside. They were different from those a shaman learned in his dreams, but were, nevertheless, not to be taken lightly. The entire procedure was repeated four times.
343 75 The men remained in the sweatlodge 15 to 20 minutes each time and, in the intervals, lay on the hot sand in front of the entry. Rubbing the body with sand was thought to aid in the removal of the affliction, as did the heat; drinking copious amounts of water before and after the sweatbath was believed to "clean out the body." At the conclusion it was customary, although not mandatory, to bathe in the river. Even when a shaman was not present, the man who entered first would dip his right hand in the water, sprinkle the hot stones, and speak aloud about how the heat, water, rocks and steam would remove the aches from their bodies. Others would respond with the term, hánaga, good, whenever reference was made to good health or the removal of illness. Then the initial man would begin his song and the others would accompany him, humming if they did not know the words.

It is clear that the attitude toward curing ritual in the sweatlodge is more casual than that at other shamanistic rites. Cures may or may not be effected. [Iliff (1954, 148-54) detailed a case of an ill child whom shamans refused to treat. The boy's parents had him placed in a sweatlodge where he was sung over by two laymen. Shortly after, he recovered.]

515 343 It was and is customary to take sweatbaths almost every day in the summer, usually in the late afternoon. In the winter, the frequency was reduced to two or three times a month.

[834] Men and women, whether ill or not, should avoid sexual intercourse for four nights before using the sweatlodge. If one violated this prescription